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# Evaluating the provision of school performance information for school choice

Rebecca Allen\*, Simon Burgess†

**Abstract.** We develop and implement a framework for determining the optimal performance metrics to help parents choose a school. This approach combines the three major critiques of the usefulness of performance tables into a natural metric. We implement this for 500,000 students in England for a range of performance measures. Using performance tables is strongly better than choosing at random: a child who attends the highest ex ante performing school within their choice set will ex post do better than the average outcome in their choice set twice as often as they will do worse.

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**Keywords:** school choice, performance tables.

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## 1. Introduction

One of the key components of any school choice system is the information given to parents as the basis for choice. For example, using both a field experiment and a natural experiment, Hastings and Weinstein (2008) show that the provision of information on school performance changed the school choice decisions of disadvantaged families towards high-performing schools. The publication of performance information is well established in some countries: performance tables showing each school's proportion of pupils gaining five or more good grades have been published nationally in England since 1992<sup>1</sup>; in the US, the *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) Act of 2001 mandated publication of school-specific performance measures as part of a broad drive to greater school accountability. There is evidence that such information is used by parents, for example Koning and van der Wiel (2010) for the Netherlands and Coldron et al. (2008) and Burgess et al. (2010) for England. Given the use and the impact of this information, it is clearly important to get it right: parents should be given performance data that is both comprehensible<sup>2</sup> meaning it is given to them in a metric that they can interpret, and functional, meaning it is a useful predictor of their own child's likely exam performance. This paper focuses on the latter. Although NCLB and other school choice policies rely on the assumption that it makes sense for parents to choose schools based on lists of schools' test scores, Hastings and Weinstein (2008) comment "the relationship between school average test scores and student achievement has not been strongly established." (p. 1378). We develop and implement a framework for determining the optimal performance metrics to help parents choose the school where their child is most likely to succeed academically. We apply this framework to a range of performance measures to decide which metrics, if any, should be given to parents to inform school choice. The longevity of performance tables plus the seven years of universe pupil data now available in England allow us to systematically address this question for the first time.

There is some scepticism that school performance tables are useful in choosing a school and several lines of critique have been presented by researchers. First, it is argued that simple tabulations of raw exam performance, "levels" data such as graduation rates or average

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<sup>1</sup> Since then increasingly sophisticated value-added or progress measures have supplemented the raw metrics. Value-added metrics were first piloted in 1998 and introduced nationally the subsequent year; contextual value-added pilots were first published in 2005; and expected progress measures were first reported in 2009.

<sup>2</sup> We address issues of comprehensibility in a separate paper (Allen and Burgess, 2010).

student test scores, largely reflect differences in school composition; they do not reflect teaching quality and so are not informative about how one particular child might do at a school. For example, a school with a high average exam score might simply attract high ability pupils and there would therefore be no reason to expect any given student to attain a high exam score there. Kane and Staiger (2002) make this point in the context of performance tables as an accountability measure. Second, schools might be differentially effective such that even measures of average teaching quality or test score gains may be misleading for students at either end of the ability distribution. Different school practices and resources might be more important for gifted students or others for low ability students, and these important differences are lost in a single average measure. Indeed, several studies have shown that in any particular year there is a difference in the estimated school effect at different parts of the ability distribution, though differences are not consistently found across other dimensions such as gender or ethnicity (Jesson and Gray, 1991; Sammons et al., 1993; Thomas et al., 1997; Wilson and Piebalga 2008). Third, it is argued that the scores reported in performance tables are so variable over time that they cannot be reliably used to predict a student's future performance. The problem of instability in performance measures was highlighted by Kane and Staiger (2002) particularly in relation to "gains" metrics; they cite sampling variation and real but transient variation and small sample (school) sizes as the main reasons for the volatility. Leckie and Goldstein (2009) re-emphasise this in the context of school league tables in England, arguing that the six year gap in time between school choice and exam outcome makes choice using value-added league tables valueless. There is also a separate large literature that critiques the role of school performance information in the framework of school accountability<sup>3</sup>.

We combine these three critiques into a single question, which we use to evaluate performance tables as a basis for school choice. This provides a natural metric for judging the quantitative importance of all these critiques. The question that parents want answered is: "In which school in my feasible choice set will my child achieve the highest exam score?". We argue that the best content for school performance tables is the statistic that best answers this question. Furthermore, if no performance measure can provide better guidance than choosing a school at random, then we would conclude that performance

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<sup>3</sup> Performance tables are seen as part of a performance management system that has implicit or explicit incentives attached to performance outcomes (Propper and Wilson, 2003). It is argued that certain performance measures can lead to dysfunctional behaviour such as manipulating admissions (see for example, Figlio and Getzler (2006) and Cullen and Reback (2006) for the US, West and Pennell (2000) and West (2010) for England) and excessive teaching to the test (for example, Wiggins and Tymms (2002) for England, Deere and Strayer (2001) and Jacob (2005) for the US).

tables in this context are valueless. To be clear, our argument is about whether performance tables give people useful information; it is not about whether it is optimal for a family to nominate that school as their top choice on the application form (that depends on the assignment algorithm, see Abdulkadiroğlu and Sönmez, 2003), nor about the chance that a family is actually assigned a place at that school.

We implement this approach for half a million students in England, making a school choice decision in 2003 for school entry in 2004, and taking their final exams in 2009. We identify a feasible choice set of schools for each student in 2003, the year that they choose schools, and define a set of school choice decision rules based on different information sets (school performance tables) available at that time. These allow us to identify the school that each pupil would have chosen under each decision rule. We then use the 2009 test score data and estimate the counterfactuals: how would that particular pupil have scored in the 2009 exams if they had attended each of the schools in their choice set. We take a cautious approach to this, to minimise the potential impact of selection bias. We restrict attention to students alike to the focus student, and only include in the choice set for the focus student schools to which other students in his or her (small) neighbourhood go. This means that we are not trying to predict outcomes for students in schools in which they would be very different from the usual student body. Nevertheless there are likely to be selection bias issues which we discuss in Section 2. The interpretation of estimated school effects as true school effectiveness is obviously an issue facing all research on school performance tables, and there is no additional problem in our approach. Finally, a comparison of that outcome with a choice at random from the feasible choice set – that is, a choice uninformed by performance tables – tells us whether using that decision rule was successful for that student. We analyse this comparison across decision rules and across student types and areas.

We find that using performance tables is strongly better than choosing at random: a child who attends the highest performing school within their choice set on 2003 data will *ex post* do better than the average out-turn in their choice set twice as often as they will do worse than average. We apply a nonparametric bootstrap to provide confidence intervals for the results and find that the odds ratio for doing better than a random choice is five standard errors above unity. We demonstrate a number of surprising results. The usefulness of performance tables is strongest for raw levels metrics, despite the fact that these data depend on the school's student intake. In other words, pupils can expect to make high gains

in their progress through secondary school in high levels schools. We argue that this is because highly effective teachers and other school resources are attracted to schools with more advantaged intakes. We show that levels performance metrics are more useful to families than gains or value-added performance tables. This result derives mainly from the low temporal stability in the conditional outcome rankings. We also show that differential performance tables (separate information for high, low and average ability pupils) do no better in identifying the best school than do average performance tables. We also show that performance tables are least useful to students with small choice sets, and to lower ability and disadvantaged students, though no worse than choosing at random.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 sets out our modelling framework including the estimation approach for predicting pupil attainment. Section 3 describes the data, and section 4 presents the results and our robustness checks. Finally, section 5 discusses the implications of the results for the appropriate content for school performance tables, and for school choice.

## 2. Modelling framework

We first set out our model of the production of pupil attainment, the approach to estimating counterfactual outcomes for pupil attainment, and the issue of selection bias. We then describe the school choice decision rules.

### a. The production of pupil attainment

We take a very flexible approach to the standard education production function, allowing the effect of each individual characteristic on the outcome to vary school by school. The expected exam performance for pupil  $i$  in school  $s$ ,  $Ey_{is}$ , is given by:

$$Ey_{is} = f_s(X_i, \bar{X}_s, \mu_s) \quad (1)$$

where  $X_i$  denotes the pupil's own characteristics that determine achievement that we observe in our dataset such as prior attainment, poverty status, gender and so on.  $\bar{X}_s$  denotes the characteristics of  $i$ 's peers: the 'pure' peer effect, excluding the component mediated by school practices which we explicitly consider below. The school matters both through the standard linear effect  $\mu_s$ , and through the whole function  $f_s$  being school-

specific. It is useful to consider explicitly where these school differences comes from, and we return to this at the end of the paper.

### **b. Estimating school outcomes: regression and selection bias**

We need to predict the exam score outcome for each school in the choice set of each student. These are counter-factuals: all bar one of these will therefore be estimated values for schools that that student did not actually attend (we use an estimate of attainment for the student's own school). We implement (1) most flexibly by estimating a separate regression for each school, and include all the interactions of individual characteristics we observe. This allows school practices and resources to affect the impact of, say, prior ability on the final exam test score. Any peer effect and the common impact of school resources are estimated in the constant term in each school regression.

Having estimated a separate regression for each of the 3143 schools (not reported but summarised in Appendix Table 2) we use them to predict exam outcomes<sup>4</sup>. We restrict the schools that we predict for as follows: only schools in each student's choice set, defined below, and among those, only schools with a minimum number of students similar to the focus student. These criteria mean that we are not predicting too far out of sample – only for schools local to the focus student, and which already have students similar to the focus student. We interpret this quite conservatively to avoid producing estimated outcomes for schools totally alien to the focus student which are likely to be very biased.

The main statistical issue is the potential effects of school selection bias. Students are not randomly assigned to schools and there are unobserved student characteristics that influence both the probability of assignment and subsequent exam performance. We cannot model the assignment process explicitly and so, absent any nation-wide instrument for school assignment (such as those used for example by Cullen et al, 2005, Hastings and Weinstein, 2008, Jackson, 2010, Sacerdote, 2010), we will have biased estimates of school effects. Essentially, we will overestimate the quality of schools with unobservably good pupils. This means that we will impute higher scores to the counterfactual pupils not at that school than they would truly have achieved had they attended. This is a well-known problem and it faces all attempts to estimate true school effects and to interpret school performance data; it is not an additional problem for our approach.

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<sup>4</sup> Our school-by-school regression approach with (almost) all interactions of the student variables is very similar to a matching approach in allowing for very heterogeneous effects.

We take two practical steps to minimise the bias. First, we use as many observable student characteristics as possible, including measures of student progress during primary school between ages 7 and 11 in some specifications to capture differences in progress from age 11 to 16. All of these are interacted with other individual characteristics. Descriptors for very small neighbourhood are also helpful in refining the characterisation of the student's family background. We also allow the impact of all characteristics to vary school-by-school. Second, we only consider counterfactual pupils for plausible local schools, and do not use predictions for schools with no similar students to the focus student.

Beyond this, we can make statements about the nature of the bias if we explicitly parameterise the assignment process. Assume that the assignment mechanism allocating student  $i$  to school  $s$  is:

$$\text{prob}\{i \rightarrow s\} = a(X_i, \varepsilon_i; \mu_s) \quad (2)$$

where  $\varepsilon$  represents unobserved student and family characteristics. If  $a()$  is such that  $\varepsilon$  and  $\mu$  are uncorrelated, then we have no problem. The leading case for concern is that  $a()$  implies that high  $\varepsilon$  students get into high  $\mu$  schools, leading us to overestimate the effectiveness of those schools. However, while this simple assignment process will lead to biased estimates of the school effects – and hence of predicted student outcomes – there are important cases when it will not change the rank ordering of schools. Hence if the biased outcome prediction for student  $i$  for a school exceeds the average in her choice set, we can infer that the unbiased prediction would too. We illustrate this as follows. Assume a simplified attainment function:

$$y_{is} = \gamma X_i + \varepsilon_i + \mu_s + \omega_{is} \quad (3)$$

where  $X$  is an observable student characteristic,  $\varepsilon$  an unobservable student characteristic with density function  $\theta(\cdot)$ ,  $\mu_s$  the true school effect and  $\omega$  is testing noise. For concreteness, we can think of  $\varepsilon$  as household income.

We assume a very simple school assignment mechanism as follows. Demand for school places is increasing in  $\mu_s$ . The greater the demand, the more oversubscribed is the school and hence the closer to the school a family needs to live to win a place under the pervasive proximity condition. This is more expensive given the equilibrium in the schooling and housing markets, and so the greater the income required. This simple model can be

represented as:  $i \rightarrow s$  if  $\varepsilon_i > p(\mu_s)$ , where  $p(\cdot)$  is a monotonically increasing function. Given this selection, if we estimate (3) by OLS the estimated constant will be:

$$\hat{m}_s = \mu_s + \int_{p(\mu_s)} \varepsilon \cdot \theta(\varepsilon) d\varepsilon \equiv k(\mu_s)$$

In general, with a sufficiently regular density function  $\theta(\cdot)$ ,  $k(\cdot)$  is a monotonically increasing function. In this case, the ordering of estimated school effects is the same as the ordering of true school effects, that is  $\hat{m}_s \geq \hat{m}_t$  implies  $\mu_s \geq \mu_t$ . Given the simple attainment function in (3), it also then follows that if the student's predicted outcome in the *ex ante* best school beats the mean predicted outcome in her choice set for the estimated school effects, it will also hold for the true school effects.

There are cases when this straightforward result will not hold. The school assignment process in England, which (2) summarises, is complex and varied, involving parental preferences and local authority rules for tie-breaking at over-subscribed schools, plus other schools that administer their own admissions (see the next section, and also West et al., 2009). The case where the parameters of (2) vary nationally but are the same within the local area for each student presents no problem. However, there is little we can do if the parameters of (2), and the consequential correlation between  $\varepsilon$  and  $\mu$ , vary significantly between schools within a local area. Secondly, if there are quantitatively important differences in the  $\gamma$  parameter in (3) between schools, then although the result on the estimated school constants will still hold, it is no longer true that this carries over automatically to the comparison of the predicted value in the best school and the choice set mean. But we emphasise, however, that this is problematic for all attempts to interpret school effects, and therefore for all analyses of school performance data.

### c. School choice decision rules

We assume that each student  $i$  faces a set  $c_i$  of schools that can be chosen from. In each potential school  $\sigma$  at the school choice date  $t$ , the distribution of exam outcomes has density function  $\phi(y)_{\sigma t}$ . Each school choice decision rule is a decision to choose the highest-performing school based on a particular statistic of this distribution, denoted  $h(\phi(y)_{\sigma t})$ . We are not assuming that parents only care about academic quality; our analysis simply focusses on parents' ability to identify the highest performing school through the use of different performance statistics. Separately for each decision rule  $h$  and for each student  $i$  we identify

the highest-performing school in the choice set based on information available at the time of decision:

$$\sigma_{ih}^* = \arg \max \left\{ h(\phi(y))_{\sigma_t} \mid \sigma \in c_i \right\} \quad (4)$$

#### d. Assessing the performance of decision rules

We have a feasible choice set of schools, a decision rule selecting one school as the *ex ante* highest performing according to a particular performance statistic,  $\sigma_{ih}^*$  at the initial date, and an estimated *ex post* outcome for each school in that set  $Ey_{it+6}$ . We assess the success of alternative decision rules in making good choices for students by evaluating whether the student's predicted *ex post* exam performance at the *ex ante* 'best' school is better than the student's average predicted *ex post* exam performance across all schools in their choice set

$$Ey_{it+6, \sigma^*} \geq E\{Ey_{it+6, \sigma} \mid \sigma \in c_i\} \quad (5)$$

The latter is the expected value of choosing in an uninformed way, choosing at random. We calculate the fraction of students for which this is true:

$$\hat{p} = N^{-1} \sum_i I \left\{ y_{it+6, \sigma^*} \geq E\{y_{it+6, \sigma} \mid \sigma \in c_i\} \right\} \quad (6)$$

where  $I()$  is the indicator function. We report this as an odds ratio of making an *ex post* good choice,  $\hat{p}/(1 - \hat{p})$ .

### 3. Data on English secondary schools

Compulsory education in England lasts for 11 years, covering the primary (age 5 to 11) and secondary stages (age 11 to 16). Most pupils transfer from primary to secondary school at age 11, although there are a few areas where this transfer is slightly different due to the presence of middle schools. Transfer is administered by local authorities about 10 months before pupils start secondary school. So, for example, a cohort which begins secondary school in September 2004 and completes compulsory education in summer 2009 would choose schools during the autumn of 2003 and would have access to the summer 2003 school performance tables.

Admissions policies are complex in England, but they generally work as follows. Secondary school allocation takes place via a system of constrained choice. Parents are able to express

ordered preferences for three to six schools anywhere in England and are offered places on the basis of published admission criteria that must adhere to a national Admissions Code. First priority is usually given to pupils with a sibling already at the school, pupils with statements of special educational needs and children in public care. Next, the largest proportion of places is allocated giving priority to children living within a designated area or on the basis of proximity to school. There are also significant numbers of schools who do not give priority to local communities: at voluntary-aided religious schools (17 percent of secondary pupils), priority is usually given on the basis of religious affiliation or adherence; other state schools offer a proportion of places on the basis of ability or aptitude for a particular subject (including 164 entirely selective grammar schools). Within this very complex system it is estimated that around half of all pupils will not attend their nearest school (Allen, 2007; Burgess et al., 2006).

#### **a. The National Pupil Database (NPD)**

In this analysis we draw pupil-level data from all eight years (2002 to 2009) of the National Pupil Database (NPD) to measure school performance in a variety of ways, described below. NPD is an administrative dataset of all pupils in the state-maintained system, providing an annual census of pupils taken each year in January, from 2002 onwards (with termly collections since 2006). This census of personal characteristics can be linked to each pupil's test score history. We focus on a single cohort to analyse the potential consequences of the secondary school choices made by over 500,000 pupils who transferred to secondary school in September 2004, completing compulsory education in 2009. These pupils are located in 3143 secondary schools; we exclude non-standard schools such as special schools or those with fewer than 30 pupils in a cohort from the analysis. We drop a small number of pupils from our analysis because they appear to be in the incorrect year group for their age or they have a non-standard schooling career history.

NPD provides data on gender (*female*), within-year age (*month*), ethnicity (*asian, black, othereth*), an indicator of whether English is spoken at home (*eal*) and three indicators of Special Educational Needs (*senstat, senplus, senact*, measuring learning or behavioural difficulties at a high, medium and low level, respectively). It also provides us with two measures of the socio-economic background of the child. Free School Meals (*fsm*) eligibility is an indicator of family poverty that is dependent on receipt of state welfare benefits (such as Income Support or Unemployment Benefit). Our FSM variable is a very good measure of the FSM status of the 12 per cent of our cohort who have it, but it has been shown by Hobbs

and Vignoles (2009) to be a crude measure of household income or poverty status. We also use the Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index (*idaci*), an indicator for the level of deprivation of the household's very small neighbourhood (full postcode<sup>5</sup>).

Data on individual characteristics are linked to the pupils' educational attainment at the ages of 7 (Key Stage 1 – KS1), 11 (KS2) and 16 (GCSE or equivalent examinations). Both the KS2 and GCSE tests are nationally set and remotely marked. The academic attainment of children in KS2 tests at the end of primary school serves as a useful proxy for academic success at the point of entry to secondary school. We use an overall score (*KS2*) that aggregates across all tests in English, maths and science, as well as the individual subject scores in our regressions (*KS2eng*, *KS2mat*, *KS2sci*). We also utilise the KS1 data recorded by teachers on children at age 7 in some specifications reported in Appendix Table 5. There are some concerns about the consistency of these data because a component of KS1 is teacher assessed, but we believe the data quality is adequate for our purposes. Summary statistics of our data are presented in Appendix Table 1.

#### **b. Defining the choice set**

It is impossible for us to know which schools any particular parent is actively considering for their child because this will be a function of their own preferences and constraints and the admissions policies of the school. Instead, we define a choice set for every pupil starting school in autumn 2004 by including a school in the choice set if another (fairly similar) pupil from the same neighbourhood attended the school during the eight year period of 2002 to 2009 for which we can observe secondary school destinations.

The pupil's neighbourhood is defined as a lower layer super output area (SOA), a geographical unit that is designed to include an approximately equal population size across the country.<sup>6</sup> In our data an average of 123 pupils across eight cohorts live within an SOA. Our first stage of defining the pupil's choice set is to calculate an SOA destination matrix for all 32,481 SOAs. In order to avoid unusual SOA-secondary school transfers that are caused by pupils moving house around school entry or coding errors, we include a school in an SOA's destination list if more than two pupils from the SOA made the transfer to the

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<sup>5</sup> For more information see <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/131206.pdf> (accessed 17/05/10).

<sup>6</sup> A SOA is a small geographical unit, containing a minimum population of 1000 and a mean of 1500.

secondary school over an eight year period. SOAs have between one and 23 schools in their destination list (mean 6.11; SD 3.19).

We base each individual pupil's choice set on the SOA destination list for their home address but introduce additional restrictions. First, we want to exclude schools where we know the transfer would be impossible, so boys schools are excluded from the choice set of girls and *vice versa*, and academically selective grammar schools are excluded from the choice set of pupils with low prior (KS2) attainment. We also exclude schools from the choice set if very few similar pupils attended the school in our main cohort. Therefore, a school is excluded from a pupil's choice set if fewer than 1% of that school's 2009 cohort are of the same sex, EAL, SEN, broad ethnic group (white British, Asian, black, other) or KS2 group (indicating low, middle or high ability). The school must also exist in both 2003 and 2009 to make the analysis possible; we link school openings and closings for straightforward one-to-one school name/governance changes to retain as many schools as possible. The result of all these restrictions is that pupil choice sets are slightly smaller than SOA destination lists: pupils have between one and 18 schools in their choice set (mean 5.07; SD 2.35). Further descriptives of these choice sets can be found in Appendix Table 2.

### c. Calculating decision rules

We use information on the 2003 school performance that would be available to parents whose children start secondary school in September 2004. These are the decision rules that we use to establish whether school performance data can help parents make school choices that maximise their own child's likely exam performance from within a choice set of schools. The decision rules that we test include metrics that have been published by the government and new rules that we have constructed from the underlying pupil-level data from the cohort who were age 16 in 2003. Pupils typically take nationally set, high stakes, GCSE or equivalent examinations in 8 to 10 subjects at the age of 16 and these are measured on an eight-point pass scale from grade A\*, A, B, ... to F, G.

We examine four main decision rules (DRs). The first two have been used in school performance tables for a number of years. The third and fourth are alternative metrics for performance tables that have been proposed but are not currently in use.

**Threshold DR:** Proportion of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grades A\*-C, including at least a grade C in both English and maths. This rather crude threshold metric has been used

to measure school performance since 1992 (with the inclusion of English and maths restrictions from 2006 onwards).

**Conditional DR:** The contextual value added score for the school, similar to that published for all secondary schools from 2006. This is essentially a school residual extracted from a multi-level regression that conditions on the pupil and peer characteristics available in NPD (see Ray, 2006). We calculate our own school CVA-type scores because it was not published by government in 2003.<sup>7</sup>

**Unconditional DR:** The average grade score for pupils in their best eight subjects at GCSE. This score converts the grade attained by each pupil in every subject at GCSE and sums across the pupil's best eight subjects. This capped GCSE is not currently reported as a metric in school performance tables, but is used as the outcome measure for 'contextual value added' scores (see below). It is regarded as a broad measure of performance that reflects the overall educational success of the child and is less susceptible to gaming than the threshold measure.

**Differential DR<sup>8</sup>:** The average capped GCSE score for pupils at three points in the national ability distribution. We report the average school performance for pupils between the 20<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> national percentile (low); the 45<sup>th</sup> and 55<sup>th</sup> national percentile (middle); and the 70<sup>th</sup> to 80<sup>th</sup> national percentile (high) for each school and allow parents to use the decision rule that relates to their own child's ability. For example, parents with pupils who are in the bottom third of the KS2 distribution could use the low differential capped GCSE performance measure to choose a school. This new measure of school performance evaluates how the school performs for pupils at different parts of the ability distribution. In doing so it approximately holds constant the prior attainment of children and allows for the possibility that schools are differentially effective.

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<sup>7</sup> We follow the approach described in Ray (2006) using test scores from the end of primary school and basic pupil and peer characteristics as control variables. The purpose is to replicate the CVA league tables as far as possible, rather than to produce the best measure of school quality.

<sup>8</sup> This is a proposal we discuss in more depth elsewhere (Allen and Burgess, 2010); we believe it has a number of advantages for school choice decisions over current performance measures.



choosing a school. Our results report the extent to which decision rules based on these 2003 performance tables are actually capable of helping parents identify local schools where their child will perform well academically by 2009. We demonstrate the performance of our threshold decision rule and compare its performance to alternative rules. These rules are more successful for some types of children and we explore why this might be through analysis of single subject performance and a decomposition of the stability of measures over time.

#### a. The performance of the threshold decision rule

We present the results in Table 1 for the 515,985 students with more than one school in their choice set. It shows the chances that this threshold decision rule (DR) identifies a school that turns out to have been a good choice. We benchmark each decision rule against an uninformed choice and compute the odds ratio of making a good choice against a bad choice. In principle we would model an uninformed choice as a choice at random. However, many students face choice sets with just 2 or 3 schools in and in this case, a literal random choice will produce a very high percentage of ties. This makes the statistics hard to interpret because it means the odds of one random choice outperforming another random choice are not 1.0 (we report all statistics relative to a random choice in Appendix Table 4). For this reason we compare the outcome of the decision rules with the expected value of a choice at random, namely the mean outcome for each student over all schools in her/his choice set.

We consider how often choosing the *best* school according to the threshold DR is at least as good as a random choice, how often choosing a *good* school from the tables is at least as good as random, and whether the school identified by the tables as the worst choice turns out to be worse than random. We define a good school as one chosen at random from the top half of the performance table on that decision rule.

Table 1 reports the odds that the threshold DR using 2003 data will produce an outcome that is better than the predicted mean average performance for the pupil across their choice set in 2009. Overall, using this decision rule to select the best school in the choice set correctly identifies a school where the child should outperform the average across their choice set 1.92 times more frequently than it identifies one where the child performs worse. Clearly this means that a substantial fraction of students would turn out to be badly advised by the performance tables; but the number for whom they proved useful is almost twice as large. Picking a school in the top half identified by the decision rule is at least as good as

random 1.35 times more frequently than it is worse. Similarly, avoiding the school identified as the worst is a good idea 1.56 times more often than not.

The remainder of the table disaggregates this performance of the decision rule by the size of the choice set, by the degree of variation in the choice set and by the students' prior ability. The performance of this decision rule is notably greater for pupils with high prior attainment in KS2 tests than it is for pupils with low prior attainment. Picking the best school according to the decision rule turns out to be better than random with odds of 2.92 for the top third of KS2 students, compared to the just 1.37 for the bottom third of KS2 students. We return to explore this relationship further later in the section.

The threshold decision rule performs better when the variation between schools (on the 2003 decision rule measure) is greater. This intuitively makes sense because where there are greater differences between schools in 2003, there should be a greater chances that the rank ordering is maintained over time. It is also encouraging as it means a greater success rate when it matters more.

#### **b. Comparing different decision rules**

We now compare the outcome of using the threshold DR to using the unconditional, differential and conditional DRs. Table 2 is in the same format as Table 1, presenting the results for picking the best school according to that decision rule relative to the choice set mean. At the bottom of the table we report the average Spearman's rank correlation coefficient for the rank of choice set schools on the 2003 decision rule against the 2009 predicted outcome (capped GCSE attainment).

Overall our unconditional DR (this is the school's average capped GCSE) yields the highest success rate with good choices 2.04 times more frequently than bad choices. Both the threshold and unconditional DRs have considerably better predictive power than the conditional DR, which delivers good choices only 1.33 times more frequently than bad choices. This conditional DR (called CVA) was introduced to English league tables to capture the underlying effectiveness of the school, controlling for all measured pupil and peer characteristics. However, the poor performance of CVA suggests that 2003 underlying effectiveness is not a particularly strong predictor of a child's likely 2009 GCSE attainment. We explore some reasons for this in Table 5.

One surprising finding is that the performance of the differential DR (this is capped GCSE scores at three different points in the ability distribution) is no better than that of the unconditional DR on which it is based. Intuition suggests that the provision of more information should do better; that having information on different parts of the distribution is more useful than just the average. The idea is that a more finely targeted decision on which school might be best would provide better information for students: specifically, students of low or high ability would be directed to schools performing differentially well for such students.<sup>10</sup> However, our results show that this is not true and it actually performs particularly poorly for high ability pupils.

There are several reasons why this might be the case. It may be because schools are not differentially effective in a stable manner over time and we explore this further in Table 5. Also, differential effectiveness measures will not be more informative than raw effectiveness if only the size, and not the ranking, of school effects varies within a choice set at different parts of the ability distribution. Within our choice set, schools do indeed have greater variability on the differential DR at the low ability point than the high ability point. However, the Spearman's rank correlation within a choice set using our unconditional DR versus our differential DR at the three ability points is high at an average of around 0.7 for each pairwise comparison. This observation that slopes of differential effectiveness as a function of ability often do not cross has been reported in other papers (e.g. Thomas et al., 1997). A final advantage of the unconditional DR is that it incorporates information about school composition, whereas scores at different points of the distribution do not. Table 6 explores further why the informational benefit of differential DRs is outweighed by the loss of this compositional information.

One issue is to consider how to express uncertainty in this model. Clearly, each individual school regression belongs in the normal statistical framework, as do predicted outcomes from those. But our outcome variable, the ratio of the number students that turned out to have made good choices on the basis of the decision rule to the number whose choices turned out to be bad, is based on a complex nonlinear function of the predictions of a number of separate regressions. Calculating standard errors for this ratio is computationally intensive and so in Table 3 we apply a non-parametric bootstrap to our entire estimation procedure, including the individual regressions for each school, but restrict attention to

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<sup>10</sup> As discussed in the data section, we assumed that students in the bottom third of the ability distribution would look at the performance measure for them and so on.

pupils in London (approximately 13% of our total sample). These results show that the lower bound on the confidence interval is well above unity for all our decision rules; it is more than five standard errors above one for all except our conditional DR. Our conditional DR (CVA) clearly performs worse than the others; its confidence interval is non-overlapping with the unconditional DR, so the latter is significantly and unambiguously superior.

### c. Understanding the heterogeneity in prediction outcomes

The decision rules we have considered yield good *ex post* predictions for a clear majority of students, but not all. In this section we use the micro data to describe which students the decision rules are not useful for. Table 4 shows the characteristics of pupils for whom we make poor predictions using the threshold DR. We report the average differences in characteristics for these pupils and also the output from a logistic regression of the full set of measured pupil characteristics.

The logistic regression confirms that location factors are important, and that a smaller choice set and low variation of the decision rule within the choice set both make it more likely that the decision rule makes a poor prediction. Our predictions are also poorer for lower ability pupils, for more deprived pupils, for pupils who speak English as an additional language and for pupils of black or Asian ethnicity. However, the overall explanatory power of the model is very low with a pseudo R-squared of just 6.7% (and only 2.5% if we exclude the two location variables), so there is a great deal of randomness in the types of pupils for whom the decision rules make poor predictions.

The poor performance of most decision rules for the lower ability pupils is particularly interesting. This group of pupils have the greatest opportunity to influence their attainment through school choice, according to a variety of metrics. For example, the correlation between a pupil's own KS2 score and the standard deviation in estimated 2009 outcomes in the choice set is -0.26 in this cohort. However, while it clearly appears to matter where lower ability pupils go to school, it does not appear to be possible to use published decision rules to particularly successfully choose a school. This may be because the larger differences in apparent school effectiveness are actually due to larger unobserved pupil characteristics that determine attainment for this low ability group. Alternatively, schools are indeed able to influence attainment a great deal for this group, but do not necessarily do so in a manner that is consistent over time. Related to this, school exam entry policies for this group of

pupils are more likely to have radically changed in response to changes in the league table metrics over the past decade.

An alternative explanation of the fact that we are doing a poor job of modelling the potential outcomes of low ability pupils in high scoring schools is as follows. It might be that we can only model high performance pupils in high performance schools as it is essentially only that sort of pupil in those schools, and few low ability pupils actually find themselves in such schools. This would be troublesome for our approach, but in fact is not the case. In our data, pupils from each quartile of the ability distribution can be found, in numbers, in almost every school in our data.<sup>11</sup>

#### d. Single subject performance

Table 5 presents information on the single subjects of English and maths to further explore why decision rules often perform poorly. The middle column of data reports the extent to which using a school's 2003 average maths GCSE successfully identifies a better than average child's 2009 achievement in maths. The odds of this are very high at 3.03, far higher than for any of the decision rules we have used so far to predict 2009 capped GCSE attainment. The figure for English GCSE is almost as high at 2.79. This is somewhat surprising since we usually find that disaggregated measures are unstable compared to an aggregation of several subjects. Interestingly, maths and English DRs are capable of predicting 2009 capped GCSE attainment almost as well as the unconditional (capped GCSE) DR does. This would be true if maths or English department quality is highly related to long-run school quality. However, the more likely explanation for the relatively poor success of the unconditional DR is that the capped GCSE measure has been subject to considerable changes in the criteria about how GCSE equivalent exams are able to count in the measure. It has also been argued that schools can manipulate a pupil's performance through introduction of certain GCSE equivalent subjects (West, 2010). Both of these reasons mean that capped GCSE scores have not been as stable over time as we might expect, which reduces the odds of successfully using any decision rules to predict a pupil's performance on this outcome measure.

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<sup>11</sup> With the exception of grammar schools, but these account for fewer than 4% of pupils. For more details on ability sorting in schools in England see Burgess et al (2006).

### e. Decomposing the relationship between 2003 decision rule and 2009 expected outcomes

Where a 2003 decision rule performs relatively poorly in explaining 2009 expected outcomes for a child, it may do so for one (or both) of two reasons. Firstly, schools may not be particularly stable in their exam performance. This would manifest itself through instability in the correlation between the decision rule metric in 2003  $\mathcal{H}(\phi(y))_{2003,\sigma}$  and the same metric 6 years later,  $\mathcal{H}(\phi(y))_{2009,\sigma}$ . However, the key issue for a parent in choosing a school, and for our evaluation approach, is just local stability – stability within that parent’s choice set; stability at a national level as reported by Leckie and Goldstein (2009) is not relevant to that decision. Also, only instability in metrics that produce changes in ranking are important since, on our performance metrics, it is the rankings of local schools that determine how parents choose schools.

The second reason why a decision rule might only poorly predict a pupil’s exam performance is because the value of the metric for even the contemporaneous cohort,  $\mathcal{H}(\phi(y))_{2009,\sigma}$ , is only weakly related to our estimate of any one specific pupil’s estimated exam performance at that school,  $E y_{i,2009,\sigma}$ . If the within-school variance in performance was low and the between-variance high we would expect the predictions based on some overall school metric to be good; if within-variance is large and between-variance low then we would expect poor predictions.

Table 6 decomposes the performance of the decision rules into these two parts. It shows that the odds that the school with the highest capped GCSE score in 2003 (i.e. our unconditional DR) is still above the average capped GCSE in the choice set in 2009 is extremely high at 16.24. The stability of all the decision rules that measure some ‘raw’ performance outcome are very high. By contrast, the stability of the differential and conditional DRs is relatively low within the choice set (odds ratios of 2.51 and 2.00, respectively). This relatively low local stability of CVA is consistent with the low national stability reported by Leckie and Goldstein (2009).

As a thought experiment, the final column reports how well using a contemporaneous decision rule, i.e. the 2009 data, fares in correctly picking a better than average school. Clearly parents cannot use future data to choose schools, but for the purposes of the decomposition, this is the natural counterpart to the temporal stability analysis. Surprisingly, none of the decision rules do this particularly well. Here the differential and conditional DRs perform marginally better than the unconditional DR, i.e. measures that

more closely identify a school's effectiveness in 2009 are indeed useful in predicting a child's own likely exam performance. However, this superior predictive power in the contemporaneous cohort is not sufficient to offset the high instability in these differential and conditional DRs over time. If parents only had to predict the best school for their child one year ahead, then metrics getting closer to effectiveness do well; over longer time horizons this is outweighed by the slightly lower predictive power but greater stability of the unconditional measures.

#### f. The role of school composition in school choice

Table 7 reports how well simply using a school's 2003 average intake ability (the KS2 score for the school leavers) is actually capable of predicting where a child will be academically successful in 2009. Overall, the odds that the best 2003 school on mean KS2 yields an attainment estimate that is better than the average 2009 outcome in the choice set is 1.81. This is actually almost as high as the performance of the threshold DR, even though it tells parents nothing directly about the teaching quality and the learning environment that the students experience in the school. School peer groups are very stable indeed over time, but this is offset by the worse predictive power of mean KS2 in contemporaneous 2009 data. So, to the extent that it is predictive at all, the peer composition of a cohort six years prior to your child's is still a useful indicator of a school where your child is likely to do well.

## 5. Discussion

There is some scepticism of the value of performance information as a guide to parents choosing schools. This is unfortunate as there is new evidence that exploiting good information can be transformative for disadvantaged students if their parents are given the information at the time they make school choices (Hastings and Weinstein, 2008). It has been argued that raw outcome 'league tables' mainly reflect school composition rather than teaching quality and so are uninformative of the likely outcome for any particular student. It has also been argued that performance rankings are so unstable that they provide no useful guide to the future (Kane and Staiger, 2002; Leckie and Goldstein, 2009). This paper proposes and implements a natural metric which combines all these critiques and estimates the frequency with which parents using *ex ante* performance information would turn out to have made the right decision *ex post*.

Our results are surprising: we show that the scepticism is over-stated, and that parents should use performance information to choose schools. Decisions based on the standard “levels” performance tables turn out to produce much better *ex post* decisions than uninformed (random) choices. We measure this as an odds ratio: the ratio of *ex post* better-than-random decisions to *ex post* worse-than-random decisions. For a threshold-type pass measure (the %5A\*-C GCSE measure) the ratio is 1.92; for an unconditional continuous points score measure (capped GCSE measure) it is 2.04, and for a conditional gain measure (the CVA measure) it is 1.33. When most students face around 5 schools in their choice set, this is a good performance. Our bootstrap procedure shows that these are strongly significantly better than an odds ratio of one.

We quantify the importance of making a good choice as follows. For families in the top half of neighbourhoods by variation in *ex ante* school rankings, making an informed choice is really important – worth 25% of a student-level standard deviation of the capped normalised GCSE scores. For the bottom half of areas it is relatively unimportant - only 4% of a standard deviation. Overall, for families who have a choice set of more than one school, making an informed choice is worth 14% of a standard deviation of test score outcomes.

Surprisingly, we show that the best performance information is only slightly more useful in school choice than a school’s composition, measured by the average prior attainment of pupils entering the school. Part of this may simply be that who you sit next to in a classroom matters: it has been shown that peers have a positive effect on achievement growth and, moreover, students throughout the school test score distribution appear to benefit from higher achieving peers (Hanushek et al., 2003). This important role for school composition also fits well with Schneider and Buckley’s (2002) findings on what parents try to discover about schools. They study parental search patterns on a school information website, *DCSchoolSearch.com*. The modal category of information sought was demographic information about each school’s student body (p. 138), rather than test score data, facilities or staff.

However, we believe that the main reason that school composition is able to forecast outcomes well is that it strongly influences the long-run sorting of teachers, headteachers, governing bodies, unpaid volunteers, teaching assistants, and other resources. That is, it is important to consider how the school effects in the estimation arise. School effectiveness derives from a set of general school practices: the quality of teaching and non-teaching staff; the quality of leadership practices; the amount and quality of school resources; and the

school mission or ethos. One of the key insights of an economic analysis of schools is that the quality of school resources and practices derives from the choices of agents – headteachers, governors, teachers and local government. Governors appoint headteachers and take a more or less proactive role in school governance; heads accept or reject job offers in particular schools, they appoint teachers, and provide more or less inspirational and effective leadership; teachers also accept or reject job offers in particular schools, and help to generate effective teaching resources in a school. Whilst clearly some high quality teachers and headteachers spend time in challenging schools, many of them may not stay there very long (Lankford et al., 2002; Dolton and Newsom, 2003; Rivkin et al., 2005). The key point is that the decisions will almost certainly react to the environment that the actors are in, and so the degree of persistence we observe in the data on school quality is behavioural, not an exogenous statistical process. Our argument is not that school composition is all that matters directly and teaching quality not at all; rather, we argue that teaching quality matters a great deal, but that averaged over a number of years, this is strongly influenced by school composition.

This is not a comfortable conclusion. It implies that it is not rational for richer parents to pick a deprived school, even if it is doing well now (unless there is clear hope of a long-run improving trend in peer quality). For this reason, use of raw attainment metrics may entrench existing social segregation between schools. It also provides an incentive for schools to cream-skim the pupils who are more able or easier to teach (Clotfelter and Ladd, 1996; Ladd and Walsh, 2000). Furthermore, if raw attainment metrics are not carefully devised their continued use may lead to teaching to the test and curriculum distortion (Goldstein 2001; Klein et al., 2000, Jacob, 2005, Reback, 2008).

However, the conclusion regarding the relationship between school composition and long-run school quality is only a function of the current system of resource allocation. It derives from the fact that policies to improve school quality for disadvantaged pupils are very difficult. Policies need to either work harder to equalise school intakes, perhaps through ballots for over-subscribed schools, or enable deprived schools to attract superior resources, through increased funding for disadvantaged pupils and deregulation of teacher pay.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> In the UK, Chowdry et al. (2008) show that local authorities allocate only half of these extra resources for deprivation to the schools that those children actually attend.

The message of this paper can also be seen as a positive one. We show that provision of performance data is useful to parents, and Hastings and Weinstein (2008) show that it will be used by parents and can be transformative to the educational outcomes for disadvantaged students. The obvious policy reform would be to mandate local authorities to publish exam performance data alongside admissions information in the school admissions brochures sent to parents of 10 year-old children. This should improve the chances that more disadvantaged families use this performance information, and will make no difference to the choices of advantaged families who already incorporate this information into their decisions. In this sense it should improve equality of opportunity for children from disadvantaged backgrounds. However, greater use of performance information by poor families cannot be transformative without reforms to the school admissions system so that students from these disadvantaged families can actually access the schools that they might choose on the basis of the performance data.

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## Tables

**Table 1: Performance threshold decision rule**

	Frequency	Best 2003 school is better than mean outcome (odds)	Good 2003 school is better than mean outcome (odds)	Worst 2003 school is worse than mean outcome (odds)
<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>515,985</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>1.35</b>	<b>1.56</b>
Size of choice set: 2	45,915	1.38	1.38	1.38
3	82,487	1.54	1.54	1.59
4 or 5	186,431	1.95	1.36	1.61
6 to 9	176,604	2.21	1.27	1.58
10 or more	24,548	2.39	1.16	1.43
Lowest ability group	168,231	1.37	1.07	1.25
Middle ability group	176,293	1.82	1.27	1.48
Highest ability group	171,461	2.92	1.81	2.12
Low variation in choice set	257,994	1.31	1.16	1.24
High variation in choice set	257,991	2.92	1.56	2.00

**Table 2: Decision rule performance (best 2003 school versus mean 2009 outcome)**

	Threshold DR	Unconditional DR	Differential DR	Conditional DR
<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>2.04</b>	<b>1.69</b>	<b>1.33</b>
Size of choice set: 2	1.38	1.43	1.34	1.20
3	1.54	1.75	1.53	1.32
4 or 5	1.95	2.01	1.70	1.36
6 to 9	2.21	2.36	1.89	1.32
10 or more	2.39	2.70	1.80	1.46
Lowest ability group	1.37	1.48	1.25	1.22
Middle ability group	1.82	1.93	1.60	1.35
Highest ability group	2.92	3.10	2.47	1.43
Low variation in choice set	1.31	1.48	1.49	1.11
High variation in choice set	2.92	2.92	1.92	1.61
Spearman's rank correlation	0.20	0.22	0.17	0.11

Table 3: Bootstrapped standard errors for London

	Threshold DR	Unconditional DR	Differential DR	Conditional DR
England odds ratio	1.92	2.04	1.69	1.33
London odds ratio	1.90	2.15	1.85	1.69
Standard error	0.12	0.11	0.08	0.11
Normal-based 95% confidence intervals	1.66 - 2.14	1.93 - 2.37	1.70 - 2.00	1.47 - 1.91

Notes: choice set > 1; Number of observations for London = 131358; Number of replications = 100 (100% sample with replacement).

Table 4: Characteristics of pupils with poor predictions (on threshold DR)

	Fail to make best choice	Make best choice	Logit (chance of making a bad choice)		
KS2 z-score	-0.13	0.14	-0.285	(0.004)	***
IDACI	0.26	0.21	0.826	(0.020)	***
FSM	17.2%	10.5%	0.205	(0.010)	***
EAL	11.0%	7.4%	0.096	(0.017)	***
Ethnicity other	7.6%	7.6%	0.033	(0.013)	**
Ethnicity asian	9.0%	6.3%	0.203	(0.018)	***
Ethnicity black	4.7%	3.1%	0.261	(0.018)	***
SEN statement	2.5%	1.6%	-0.256	(0.024)	***
SEN action plus	8.0%	5.8%	-0.082	(0.013)	***
SEN action	15.6%	12.3%	-0.040	(0.010)	***
Size of choice set			-0.039	(0.002)	***
S.D. of 2003 decision rules			-6.147	(0.046)	***
Constant			0.287	(0.011)	***
Pseudo R-sq			6.70%		
Number of pupils	157,959	312,111	470,070		

Table 5: Performance of single subject decision rules (odds: best is better than mean outcome)

	Unconditional DR predicting capped GCSE	Maths DR predicting capped GCSE	Maths DR predicting maths GCSE	English DR predicting capped GCSE	English DR predicting English GCSE
<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>2.04</b>	<b>1.90</b>	<b>3.03</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>2.79</b>
Size of choice set: 2	1.43	1.43	1.80	1.33	1.52
3	1.75	1.60	2.25	1.65	2.13
4 or 5	2.01	1.94	3.07	1.93	2.83
6 to 9	2.36	2.13	3.95	2.19	3.69
10 or more	2.70	2.29	4.15	2.55	3.93
Lowest ability group	1.48	1.39	2.47	1.39	2.37
Middle ability group	1.93	1.81	3.13	1.81	2.97
Highest ability group	3.10	2.83	3.65	2.94	3.15
Low variation in choice set	1.48	1.36	1.99	1.44	1.96
High variation in choice set	2.92	2.76	5.13	2.65	4.29
Spearman's rank correlation coefficient	0.22	0.26	0.35	0.25	0.33

Table 6: Decomposition of performance of decision rules

		Best 2003 school is better than mean 2009 outcome (odds)	Best 2003 school is better than mean 2009 decision rule (odds)	Best 2009 school is better than mean 2009 outcome (odds)
<b>Threshold</b>	<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>15.67</b>	<b>2.45</b>
decision rule	Lowest ability group	1.37	16.24	1.73
predicting	Middle ability group	1.82	15.67	2.37
<b>capped GCSE</b>	Highest ability group	2.92	15.39	3.81
outcome	Spearman's rank correlation	0.20	0.75	0.28
<b>Unconditional</b>	<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>2.04</b>	<b>16.24</b>	<b>3.46</b>
decision rule	Lowest ability group	1.48	16.54	2.53
predicting	Middle ability group	1.93	15.95	3.44
<b>capped GCSE</b>	Highest ability group	3.10	15.95	5.02
outcome	Spearman's rank correlation	0.22	0.73	0.41
<b>Differential</b>	<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>1.69</b>	<b>2.51</b>	<b>3.63</b>
decision rule	Lowest ability group	1.25	2.04	2.98
predicting	Middle ability group	1.60	2.36	3.67
<b>capped GCSE</b>	Highest ability group	2.47	3.41	4.46
outcome	Spearman's rank correlation	0.17	0.28	0.43
<b>Conditional</b>	<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>1.33</b>	<b>2.00</b>	<b>3.67</b>
decision rule	Lowest ability group	1.22	2.01	3.52
predicting	Middle ability group	1.35	1.99	4.52
<b>capped GCSE</b>	Highest ability group	1.43	2.01	3.15
outcome	Spearman's rank correlation	0.11	0.19	0.48
<b>Maths GCSE</b>	<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>3.03</b>	<b>16.24</b>	<b>4.38</b>
decision rule	Lowest ability group	2.47	16.86	3.26
predicting	Middle ability group	3.13	15.95	4.78
<b>maths GCSE</b>	Highest ability group	3.65	15.67	5.67
outcome	Spearman's rank correlation	0.35	0.74	0.47
<b>English GCSE</b>	<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>2.79</b>	<b>15.95</b>	<b>4.52</b>
decision rule	Lowest ability group	2.37	17.52	3.50
predicting	Middle ability group	2.97	15.67	5.13
<b>English GCSE</b>	Highest ability group	3.15	14.63	5.29
outcome	Spearman's rank correlation	0.33	0.75	0.49

Table 7: Using 2003 mean average KS2 to predict 2009 capped GCSE outcomes

	Best 2003 school is better than mean 2009 outcome (odds)	Best 2003 school is better than mean 2009 decision rule (odds)	Best 2009 school is better than mean 2009 outcome (odds)
<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>1.81</b>	<b>17.52</b>	<b>1.90</b>
Size of choice set: 2	1.31	3.55	1.28
3	1.59	6.94	1.53
4 or 5	1.82	20.74	1.86
6 to 9	2.04	65.67	2.24
10 or more	2.24	249.00	2.40
Lowest ability group	1.34	19.41	1.43
Middle ability group	1.70	16.86	1.76
Highest ability group	2.70	16.54	2.83
Low variation in choice set	1.38	8.71	1.42
High variation in choice set	2.42	199.00	2.61
Spearman's rank correlation	0.18	0.76	0.18

## Data Appendix

**Appendix Table 1: Pupil descriptives of the cohort**

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Size of pupil's choice set	5.073	2.350	1.000	18.000
KS2 prior attainment score	0.055	0.862	-2.973	1.881
IDACI deprivation score on postcode	0.219	0.179	0.007	0.996
Free school meals eligible	12.14%			
English as an additional language	8.16%			
Ethnicity asian	6.85%			
Ethnicity black	3.42%			
Ethnicity other	7.42%			
Special educational needs (statement)	2.09%			
Special educational needs (action plus)	6.52%			
Special educational needs (action)	13.23%			

Note: N=532,839; pupils for whom we can estimate 2009 achievement models

**Appendix Table 2: Descriptives of choice sets**

	<b>Average number of schools in choice set</b>	<b>Mean 2003 threshold DR across choice set</b>	<b>Mean 2003 unconditional DR across choice set</b>	<b>Mean 2003 differential DR across choice set</b>	<b>Mean 2003 conditional DR across choice set</b>
<b>All</b>	5.07	44.4%	36.0	36.0	0.172
Low ability group	5.15	41.2%	34.9	27.7	0.174
Middle ability group	5.08	44.4%	36.0	36.4	0.167
High ability group	4.99	47.5%	37.1	43.7	0.175
Poor (FSM)	5.79	37.3%	33.5	32.0	0.202
Not poor (non-FSM)	4.97	45.4%	36.4	36.5	0.167

Appendix Table 3: Summary output for school-by-school regressions

	All schools in single regression	3,143 school-by-school regressions						
		Mean	S.D.	10th per.	25th per.	50th per.	75th per.	90th per.
Adj. R-squared	58%	55%	11%	39%	49%	57%	63%	67%
Number of obs	1,061,854	338	124	189	252	329	415	491
KS2 science	0.240	0.218	0.140	0.065	0.150	0.225	0.295	0.356
KS2 maths	0.288	0.229	0.200	0.112	0.186	0.247	0.308	0.366
KS2 English	0.282	0.248	0.119	0.125	0.185	0.252	0.315	0.369
FSM	-0.262	-0.317	5.837	-0.806	-0.501	-0.235	0.010	0.320
IDACI	-1.073	-0.822	2.030	-2.755	-1.740	-0.827	0.056	1.013
Female	0.150	0.124	0.243	-0.072	0.000	0.121	0.245	0.369
Month of birth	-0.010	-0.009	0.011	-0.023	-0.016	-0.009	-0.003	0.004
EAL	0.222	0.198	0.448	-0.217	0.000	0.143	0.405	0.711
Ethnicity asian	0.213	0.176	0.464	-0.263	0.000	0.085	0.396	0.709
Ethnicity black	0.157	0.087	0.407	-0.251	0.000	0.000	0.219	0.536
Ethnicity other	0.073	0.039	0.353	-0.321	-0.118	0.034	0.201	0.390
SEN statement	-0.268	-0.268	0.477	-0.830	-0.518	-0.222	0.000	0.217
SEN action	-0.210	-0.238	0.239	-0.516	-0.377	-0.235	-0.092	0.035
SEN action plus	-0.469	-0.493	0.464	-0.981	-0.719	-0.475	-0.241	-0.019
Female*FSM	-0.005	-0.046	1.878	-0.352	-0.157	0.000	0.137	0.345
Female*IDACI	0.017	0.012	1.152	-0.784	-0.355	0.000	0.343	0.811
Female*asian	0.060	0.038	0.431	-0.295	0.000	0.000	0.078	0.453
Female*black	0.060	0.033	0.333	-0.113	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.306
Female*othereth	0.014	0.007	0.435	-0.418	-0.149	0.000	0.170	0.456
FSM*asian	0.054	-0.025	3.112	-0.225	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.389
FSM*black	0.129	0.032	0.365	-0.043	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.281
FSM*othereth	0.094	-0.077	4.745	-0.462	-0.099	0.000	0.208	0.585
FSM*IDACI	0.202	1.534	67.861	-1.523	-0.503	0.168	0.894	1.908
KS2*female	0.026	0.023	0.116	-0.112	-0.032	0.007	0.087	0.163
KS2*FSM	-0.043	0.034	4.425	-0.322	-0.156	-0.042	0.065	0.193
KS2*IDACI	-0.190	-0.071	0.649	-0.648	-0.350	-0.069	0.198	0.495
SENstat*female	-0.045	-0.021	0.542	-0.588	-0.124	0.000	0.083	0.558
SENact*female	-0.010	-0.004	0.300	-0.327	-0.144	0.000	0.135	0.323
SENplus*female	-0.047	-0.031	0.468	-0.534	-0.228	0.000	0.174	0.479
KS2 science sq	0.045	0.051	0.072	-0.018	0.016	0.047	0.081	0.119
KS2 maths sq	0.075	0.072	0.098	-0.004	0.028	0.063	0.099	0.139
KS2 English sq	0.049	0.046	0.056	-0.015	0.016	0.046	0.077	0.106
IDACI sq	0.844	0.464	5.630	-2.848	-0.995	0.471	2.053	4.144
Year is 2009	-0.023	-0.015	0.143	-0.185	-0.108	-0.019	0.069	0.161
Constant	0.060	0.061	0.363	-0.310	-0.141	0.045	0.230	0.438

Appendix Table 4: Alternative interpretations of choice at random

	Frequency	Best 2003 school is better than the mean outcome (odds)	Best 2003 school is at least as good as the median outcome (odds)	Best 2003 school is at least as good as a random outcome (odds)	Random 2003 school is at least as good as a random outcome (odds)
<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>515,985</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>2.38</b>	<b>2.64</b>	<b>1.61</b>
Size of choice set: 2	45,915	1.38	1.38	3.76	2.97
3	82,487	1.54	3.08	2.75	2.00
4	96,369	1.88	1.88	2.65	1.66
5	90,062	2.04	3.03	2.55	1.51
6	71,506	2.10	2.17	2.46	1.39
7	51,290	2.26	2.97	2.50	1.34
8	32,707	2.28	2.34	2.42	1.27
9	21,101	2.30	2.91	2.33	1.27
10	11,316	2.44	2.45	2.39	1.27
11	6,625	2.37	2.88	2.29	1.22
12	3,631	2.26	2.24	2.12	1.16
13	1,661	2.55	2.95	2.13	1.16
14	778	2.04	2.04	1.96	1.13
15	283	3.42	3.42	2.68	1.25
16	184	3.08	3.08	2.92	1.63
17	35	1.70	1.70	1.92	1.33
18	35	n/a	2.18	2.89	1.70
Lowest ability group	168,231	1.37	1.72	2.08	1.59
Middle ability group	176,293	1.82	2.30	2.56	1.61
Highest ability group	171,461	2.92	3.57	3.52	1.62
Low variation in choice set	257,994	1.31	1.71	2.12	1.73
High variation in choice set	257,991	2.92	3.48	3.35	1.49

Appendix Table 5: Robustness checks for school-by-school regression

	Pooled 2008 and 2009 data	2009 data only	2009 data with KS1 controls
<b>Overall (choice set&gt;1)</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>1.54</b>	<b>1.58</b>
Size of choice set: 2	1.38	1.27	1.28
3	1.54	1.39	1.40
4 or 5	1.95	1.60	1.64
6 to 9	2.21	1.66	1.72
10 or more	2.39	1.54	1.61
Lowest KS2 group	1.37	1.15	1.16
Middle KS2 group	1.82	1.46	1.49
Highest KS2 group	2.92	2.25	2.39
Low variation in choice set	1.31	1.21	1.22
High variation in choice set	2.92	1.99	2.10
Spearman's rank correlation coefficient	0.20	0.14	0.15